

Die Veneris 31^o. Jan. 1717.

ORDERED, by the Lords *Spi-ritual* and *Temporal* in Parliament Assembled, That the Thanks of this House be, and are hereby given to the Lord Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, for his very Excellent **SERMON** preach'd before this House Yesterday in the Abbey-Church, *Westminster*. And he is hereby desir'd to cause the same to be forthwith printed and published.

WILL. COWPER,

Cler' Parliamentor'

A
SERMON

Preach'd before the

Lords Spiritual and Temporal

In Parliament Assembled,

IN THE
Abbey-Church at *Westminster*,

On the 30th of *January*, 1717-18.

BEING THE
Day of the Martyrdom
OF
King **CHARLES I.**

By the Right Reverend Father in GOD,
EDWARD Lord Bishop of *Coventry*,
and *Lichfield*.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *James Knapton*, at the Crown in
St Paul's Church-Yard. 1718.

Chandlery K

Ende April, nach Leipzig.

in February 1902

12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25-26-27-28-29-30-31-32-33-34-35-36-37-38-39-40-41-42-43-44-45-46-47-48-49-50-51-52-53-54-55-56-57-58-59-60-61-62-63-64-65-66-67-68-69-70-71-72-73-74-75-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-94-95-96-97-98-99-100-101-102-103-104-105-106-107-108-109-110-111-112-113-114-115-116-117-118-119-120-121-122-123-124-125-126-127-128-129-130-131-132-133-134-135-136-137-138-139-140-141-142-143-144-145-146-147-148-149-150-151-152-153-154-155-156-157-158-159-160-161-162-163-164-165-166-167-168-169-170-171-172-173-174-175-176-177-178-179-180-181-182-183-184-185-186-187-188-189-190-191-192-193-194-195-196-197-198-199-200-201-202-203-204-205-206-207-208-209-210-211-212-213-214-215-216-217-218-219-220-221-222-223-224-225-226-227-228-229-230-231-232-233-234-235-236-237-238-239-240-241-242-243-244-245-246-247-248-249-250-251-252-253-254-255-256-257-258-259-260-261-262-263-264-265-266-267-268-269-270-271-272-273-274-275-276-277-278-279-280-281-282-283-284-285-286-287-288-289-290-291-292-293-294-295-296-297-298-299-300-301-302-303-304-305-306-307-308-309-310-311-312-313-314-315-316-317-318-319-320-321-322-323-324-325-326-327-328-329-330-331-332-333-334-335-336-337-338-339-340-341-342-343-344-345-346-347-348-349-350-351-352-353-354-355-356-357-358-359-360-361-362-363-364-365-366-367-368-369-370-371-372-373-374-375-376-377-378-379-380-381-382-383-384-385-386-387-388-389-390-391-392-393-394-395-396-397-398-399-400-401-402-403-404-405-406-407-408-409-410-411-412-413-414-415-416-417-418-419-420-421-422-423-424-425-426-427-428-429-430-431-432-433-434-435-436-437-438-439-440-441-442-443-444-445-446-447-448-449-450-451-452-453-454-455-456-457-458-459-460-461-462-463-464-465-466-467-468-469-470-471-472-473-474-475-476-477-478-479-480-481-482-483-484-485-486-487-488-489-490-491-492-493-494-495-496-497-498-499-500-501-502-503-504-505-506-507-508-509-510-511-512-513-514-515-516-517-518-519-520-521-522-523-524-525-526-527-528-529-530-531-532-533-534-535-536-537-538-539-540-541-542-543-544-545-546-547-548-549-550-551-552-553-554-555-556-557-558-559-560-561-562-563-564-565-566-567-568-569-570-571-572-573-574-575-576-577-578-579-580-581-582-583-584-585-586-587-588-589-590-591-592-593-594-595-596-597-598-599-600-601-602-603-604-605-606-607-608-609-610-611-612-613-614-615-616-617-618-619-620-621-622-623-624-625-626-627-628-629-630-631-632-633-634-635-636-637-638-639-640-641-642-643-644-645-646-647-648-649-650-651-652-653-654-655-656-657-658-659-660-661-662-663-664-665-666-667-668-669-670-671-672-673-674-675-676-677-678-679-680-681-682-683-684-685-686-687-688-689-690-691-692-693-694-695-696-697-698-699-700-701-702-703-704-705-706-707-708-709-710-711-712-713-714-715-716-717-718-719-720-721-722-723-724-725-726-727-728-729-730-731-732-733-734-735-736-737-738-739-740-741-742-743-744-745-746-747-748-749-750-751-752-753-754-755-756-757-758-759-760-761-762-763-764-765-766-767-768-769-770-771-772-773-774-775-776-777-778-779-780-781-782-783-784-785-786-787-788-789-790-791-792-793-794-795-796-797-798-799-800-801-802-803-804-805-806-807-808-809-810-811-812-813-814-815-816-817-818-819-820-821-822-823-824-825-826-827-828-829-830-831-832-833-834-835-836-837-838-839-840-841-842-843-844-845-846-847-848-849-850-851-852-853-854-855-856-857-858-859-860-861-862-863-864-865-866-867-868-869-870-871-872-873-874-875-876-877-878-879-880-881-882-883-884-885-886-887-888-889-890-891-892-893-894-895-896-897-898-899-900-901-902-903-904-905-906-907-908-909-910-911-912-913-914-915-916-917-918-919-920-921-922-923-924-925-926-927-928-929-930-931-932-933-934-935-936-937-938-939-940-941-942-943-944-945-946-947-948-949-950-951-952-953-954-955-956-957-958-959-960-961-962-963-964-965-966-967-968-969-970-971-972-973-974-975-976-977-978-979-980-981-982-983-984-985-986-987-988-989-990-991-992-993-994-995-996-997-998-999-1000-1001-1002-1003-1004-1005-1006-1007-1008-1009-1010-1011-1012-1013-1014-1015-1016-1017-1018-1019-1020-1021-1022-1023-1024-1025-1026-1027-1028-1029-1030-1031-1032-1033-1034-1035-1036-1037-1038-1039-1040-1041-1042-1043-1044-1045-

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JUDG. xvii. 6.

*In those Days, there was no King
in Israel, but every Man did that
which was right in his own Eyes.*

TH E Words are written four Times in this Book, and every Time they are brought in as a Reason, for some extraordinary evil Thing that hapned in *Israel*; some such Thing, as it was not to be thought could have hapned in the People of God. God's saying it but once, had been enough to oblige us, to take notice of it. But he is pleas'd to say it four Times over, that we may take great notice of it, that such evil Things are the natural Effects of Anarchy, of want of Government in a Nation.

The Age in which these Things hapned, seems to be that interval of Time, from the Death of *Joshua* and the Elders that survived him in *Canaan*, to the Rise of the first Judges.
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It was then the *third* Generation from *Moses*; for *Jonathan*, the Grandson of *Moses*, as the *Vulgar Latin* truly reads, instead of *Manasseth*, *Judg. xviii. 30.* is said to be *Priest at the time, to the graven Image set up by the Children of Dan.* Which agrees with what is afterwards said *Ch. xx. 28.* that *Phinees* the Grandson of *Aaron*, did about the same time stand before the *Ark of the Lord.* So that this Chapter and those that follow, though placed last in this Book, as written perhaps by another Hand, as was *Ruth*, which is an Appendix to the Book of *Judges*, have their proper Place, in order of History, after *Ch. ii. 10.* where there is a near relation between the Wickedness there recorded, and the *Libertinism* in my Text.

It is a meer Conceit, the imagining that the word *King* in my Text, respects *King Saul*, or those that succeeded him in that Office. It may rather regard *Moses*, who lived before the Time of these Events, and who is called *King* in *Jeshurun*, *Deut xxxiii. 5.* But since *Kings* and *Kingdoms*, signify in Scripture, as well as other very antient Writings, any kind of settled Government that is Supreme, we may well understand, as we do, by *no King in Israel*, the Dissolution of their Government by *Joshua* and the seventy Elders. Whether it was, by neglect to chuse new Members in the Room of those that were gone off, or that through opposition of Powerful Factions, they could not agree upon the Persons,

Persons, so it fell out in effect, the Union between the Twelve Tribes being lost, with the Authority that cemented them, they found themselves in a State of Nature, where Will and Power were the only Measure of their Actions. Because they had *no King*, no supreme Magistrate, *in Israel*, therefore every Man did that which was right in his own Eyes.

A lively Image of the miserable Condition, this Nation was reduced to, after the horrid and execrable Murder of the Person of King Charles, which was followed with the entire Subversion of the Government both in Church and State. It was the Act indeed of few, in Comparision of the Nation, who declared their Abhorrence and Detestation of it. But the Evils that ensued, were felt by all. No Family but suffered more or less, in the Devastations made by the lawless Crew, that appeared thereupon. And such Devastations being the plain and just Consequences of Rebellion, and Anarchy, 'twill be needful to revive the Sense, of what was then suffered, in your Minds, in order to create a Dread and Horror of any future Proceedings, that may have as fatal an End; which I take to be one chief Design of the continued Observation of this Day. All that bore a Part in the wicked Transactions of those Times have already given account to God; and we trust the national Guilt is removed long since thro' the Punishment of the Ring-leaders, and the repeated Humiliations of the good People of

of the Land. It can have no good Effect, now to reproach Persons and Families that were instrumental in so great Wickedness, which is to keep open and inflame a Sore, which it is full Time should be healed. But there will be always selfish factious Men, ready to make any Change to serve their own Purposes: And so it will be always useful, if we can't mend them, with shewing them the Tendency of their restless turbulent Spirits, to make the People sensible, what *they* are to expect, if they be misled by them; to caution them how they credit any Misrepresentation, and unreasonable Suspicion of their Governors, affirmed or insinuated by Parties and their artful Leaders, lest under new Names, they play over the old Game, to their Ruine.

My Business then at present shall be, to shew

I. The Benefits of Government to any People, especially in restraining that Liberty, which out of Government, they will take, of doing that which is Right in their own Eyes. And

II. The Folly and Sin of them that wantonly destroy the Peace of a settled Government; which I shall conclude with a short Application.

I. Of the Benefits of Government to any People, especially in restraining that Liberty, which

which out of Government they will take of doing that which is right in their own Eyes. I shall name but three, and they are the chief Blessings of Government.

1. It secures to us the Things that make Life valuable, such as Liberty of Persons quiet Possession of the Fruit of our Labors, Authority to vindicate invaded Rights, Peace, Plenty, and the like. Nay it secures even Life it self to us; There is no living safely without Government.

2. It promotes Knowledge, and those Arts, that abate the natural Fierceness and Selfishness of Men's Tempers, that civilize and sweetens Life.

3. It protects, encourages and enforces, the Practise of Religion, which ought to be dearer than Life to us.

1. Government secures Life, and all that is valuable in Life to us. For this is the very End of uniting into Societies, that the joynt Wisdom and Force of many, may be employed, in the Defence of all, and every Member thereof, against the Attempts of heady, and unreasonable Men: that wholesome Laws be made, for preserving the Property of every Person; for vindicating the Innocent, and punishing the Fraudulent and Oppressive, Rapacious and Violent, and for equal Administration of Justice to all. Such is the Course these Things move in under all well governed Societies; and they are all precarious

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or rather, impossible to be obtained, out of Government.

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A learned Jew, has represented the Truth hereof in a very familiar Instance. I saw, faith he, a Banker, a little, old, thin, weakly Man, fearlessly counting large Sums of Money upon his Tables, in the Sight of those that passed by. There came to him a lusty young Beggar, with scarce Cloaths to his Back, who bowed low, and begged Charity. The Banker denyed him, and with big Words threatened him from the Door. And away went the Beggar quietly, without replying. From whence, as the same Jew goes on, I concluded this Place was blessed with Government; for if fear of the Magistrate's Power, had not restrained the poor Man; he that was so much stronger, under such Necessities and such Provocations, would have taken more than he asked, and abused the Owner also.

It must be acknowledg'd, the Laws are not always so sufficient a Restraint, nor do's the Terror of capital Punishments, keep all Men within the Bounds of Right and Equity: Some will still encroach upon their Neighbour's Property, and will not stick at his very Life, if that stands in Opposition, to the obtaining of their unjust Desires, though they know, the destroying of his Life, is at the certain Peril of their own. But then it should be observed, how much worse the same Men would prove, how much wider their

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their Violence would spread, how many others would be encouraged by their Impunity, to Imitation, were there no such Punishments to controul any one.

Man, under the Dominion of his Passions, as all Men left to themselves naturally are, is the most dangerous, mischievous Creature in the World. His Understanding, given him for better Purposes, serves only to render Him, a more treacherous successful Enemy : and he is much the more to be feared, for having once lived under the Improvements of Society, if ever the Confinements thereof, come to be taken off, as becoming thereby, more ingenious in Mischief, and skilful in the Arts of destroying. He covets every Thing he likes, he holds fast every Thing he has, he envies every Thing he has not, he resents every Appearance of Injury to himself, he is devoid of Sense of what any other suffers; and what should hinder him, from taking the shortest way, to gratify each of these Passions, but the Fear of him, that bears the Sword, for the Punishment of such evil Doers? Take away this Apprehension from the Generality, and every desirable Good, lies at the Mercy of the Strongest : And while each Man is willing to fancy himself so, and therefore to try it out by Force of Arms, Lord ! What a Scene of Blood and Misery, must this Earth be ! What Suspicions, what Jealousies, what Contrivances and Fears,

will in their Turn distract, the Souls of every Person! What Indignation and Rage, will possess the Minds of the Injured and Helpless! With what Fury will he go on, who is push'd forward by Appetites, that will be denied nothing, to take more than is his own! With what Resistance must they meet him, whom Interest and Revenge inspire, to keep what is their own! And from the mutual Conflicts, of these two Sorts of Men, and those engaged on their Sides, who can express the Evils that must follow? Nothing is to be expected, but Quarelling and Plundering, but Fighting and Killing every where, till they bring the whole World into a perfect Desolation.

2dly, It is another Benefit of Government, that it promotes Knowledge and those Arts, that abate the natural selfishness and fierceness of Men's Tempers; that civilize and sweeten Life. *Man*, saith *Zophar* in *Job*, is *born like a Wild-Asses Colt*, ignorant, rude and untractable. And these brutish Qualities, are not to be subdued, but by Institution, and those Improvements, that are to be found only in Societies. God therefore so ordered it, that every Man should be born, within some Society, I mean that of a Family, where the Father or the Master presides; and to compel them yet into greater Societies, that the single Reason, of no one or two Persons, shall be able to answer, the manifold Wants incident to humane Nature. No; the
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Work must be divided ; some are to betake themselves to one Study or Art, and some to another ; and even in the same Profession, that is built upon Observation and Experience, one Man is to grow wiser, by another's Studies and Labors, and to transmit his own Additions, to a third to improve upon.

Thus living together, and observing their many Wants, and the many more Hands, that are needful, for the redress of any one Want they plainly see that Man, who hath neither all Perfection, nor all Sufficiency in himself, is not designed to be, the sole Center of his Actings : Their mutual Assistance, and Subserviency, brings them into an Esteem of each other's Talents, and that into a Complacency for each other's Person. And tho' Esteem should not proceed so far, it will however put much Restraint upon an unsociable Temper ; it will gradually lessen that Sourness, and Roughness that shuts out from the Helps, others can impart, and they have occasion for.

So that upon the whole Matter, Study and Application ; and united Endeavours are necessary, to find out, and provide, those Accommodations, that make Life comfortable, and to pare off those Asperities of Disposition, that are irreconcilable with Peace and Union. Now all Endeavours flag, without Emulation, Encouragement and the Rewards of orderly Societies, unless pressed forward by those Necessities, which the multiplying of Men together, cause. Out of Govern-
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ment, Men's Thoughts run in another Channel, being employed, how to save their own, or seize their Neighbour's Acquisitions: And higher they don't rise, as wanting the Spur to all Diligence, the Prospect of enjoying and disposing what has been thereby obtained. A long War in any Place, is therefore noted to cast a chilling Damp, upon all useful Arts, and to have been still succeeded, by an Age of Barbarism: The same Causes, reducing them into the same State, the poor Savages in the *Indies*, still remain in, for being not yet formed into Civil Societies, whose Condition seems to be worse, than that of other Creatures, in Rank below them. For those, Nature has provided a present Supply, under their ordinary Wants. They are from their Birth, cas'd with Covering, against the Rigours of the Season, and arm'd with Weapons, of Defence, or Flight, upon Assaults; they are endued with proper Instincts, for their Food and their Physick; and if they have not Houses and Beds, they need none. But these wild Men we speak of, not knowing how to use their Reason, that was given them, instead of every other Provision, are subject to more Inconveniencies, than other Animals are liable to, without any Remedy at Hand. They wander up and down naked and defenceless; they see the Dangers they are expos'd to, and know not how to avoid them; their Days are spent in careless, undesigned,

undesigned, thoughtless Romings; their Nights are broke, with Fears of what may befall them under the next Bush they shelter themselves under.

Now which of us would not be weary of Life, upon these Terms? were our ceiled Chambers, exchanged for the Covering of Heaven, and our soft Beds for a few green Turfs; were our Cattle driven from their Pasture, and we left to graze in their Stead, and even our Title to that, disputed by other Animals, to our Disadvantage; in a Word, were our Country turned into a Wilderness, as it would soon be, if we lived at the rate of those Savages, that live in those desolate Countries, we should then be too late sensible of the Advantage of Arts and Trades and Sciences, and of the Blessing of Government, that cherishes and patronizes them. It is Government only that by improving their Understandings, makes the Life of Men more eligible than that of Brutes. For,

3dly, Religion, which alone without Government, is able to civilize Men, and support them under any Suffering, is it self, much advanced by good Government, and doth sensibly decay, where there is a want of it. Not that Religion owes it's Original to the State, or can't subsist in truly pious and virtuous Souls, in opposition to any Neglect, or even Severity of Princes against it. But this I mean, such pious and truly virtuous
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Souls, are rarely and difficultly raised, in Times of publick Disorder, and Confusion, the very Principles are apt to wear out of Men's Minds, wherethey are not called upon, or under some Obligation to recollect them; and when the Interests of religious and civil Societies, have been interwoven into one Constitution, the fall of the State hath ever been fatal, not only to the publick Exercise, but in great measure to Religion it self. Hence *St Paul*, though helived under a Government not Christian, yet knowing Religion to be in more danger from Anarchy, than Persecution, exhorts Christians to pray even for that Government; *for Kings, saith he, and all that are in Authority under them*; the Argument is stronger, for Christian Kings, and those that countenance Religion, *that we may lead quiet Lives under them in all godliness and honesty.*

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I know, it is Matter of Dispute, the Authority the civil Magistrate hath, in Matters of Religion: and it is certainly a Point of great Nicety, the adjusting the exact Bounds of that Authority, beyond which he ought in no wise to proceed. But laying it down first, as an incontestable Assertion, that Force and Persecution, are improper Methods, to produce Religion, which ought to be, the result of Persuasion and Choice, and that Magistrates therefore, should not impose, their own Opinions by Violence, upon Persons capable

capable of judging for themselves; I think, it will not be denied, that Princes within their own Dominions, have a great Interest, in the Things of Religion, and are accountable to God, for Indifferency or Neglect thereof.

The Magistrate, *may* and *ought* to see, that the Publick Worship of God be kept up; that proper Times and Places for that Worship, be held Sacred; that the Ministers thereof be encouraged, to discharge their proper Functions duly, or punish'd for default; that in such Places, all Means of Instruction in the Will of God, and all Helps of substantial Piety, be exhibited to the People; that a licentious freedom of going no where to worship, or of vilifying Things Sacred, be restrained; Nay, he ought to have an Eye, upon every new religious Sect that arises, that so Distinction be made, between simple inoffensive Opinions and Errors, and the wild Pretences of Enthusiasts, such as are destructive of Civil Government, and whereby whole Countries have been desolated, or the personated Tenents of cunning Men, employed to lye in wait to deceive, and divide, and so confound all Order.

Such Rights and Duties, Parents found themselves invested with, under natural Religion. Their Children, by appointment of Providence, are brought into the World, Infants in Understanding and Religion, as well

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as Stature, God, as it were casting them into their Hands, in this weak Condition, and with a growing Capacity, on purpose to bespeak the Assistance of their Parents in forming them to the Knowledge of God, their Duty to him, and a Judgment to come. And no less Concern for the Christian Doctrine, is expected of Christian Parents, whom St Paul exhorts, *to bring up their Children in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord, namely Christ, Eph. v. 4.*

Such care, Masters of Families, thought they were obliged to extend, to all in their House, and are often commended for it, in Scripture. Of *Abraham*, God speaks with
 Gen. xviii. 19. *Approbation, I know him, that he will command his Children, and his House-hold after him, and they shall (or, that they may) keep the way of the Lord, to do Justice and Judgment. And Joshua's Resolution is recorded, for our Imitation, As for me and my House, we will serve the Lord. It was God's Direction to Abraham, when he gave him the Rite of*
 Rom. iv. 11. *Circumcision (a Seal of the Righteousness by Faith,) that every Male of his Family, or born in his House (the Children of his Slaves)*
 Gen. xviii. 12, 13. *or bought with Money of any Stranger, though not of his Seed, must needs be circumcised. And by the like command, every other Master of a Family, was to look to the Observation of the Sabbath, (another part of instituted Religion) by his Man and Maid-Servants, and the*
 Deut. v. 14. *Stranger*

Stranger within his Gates, as well as by his *Children*, and to hinder the Profanation thereof.

Now what are large Families, but little Kingdoms? And what are great Kingdoms, but many Families, united together under one supream Head or Governor? If then the Worship of God, whether taught by natural, or revealed Religion, is the concern of Fathers and Masters, why not of Kings, in a more publick Manner? If instituted Religion, may be inculcated, upon Children and Servants, by their Governors, why not upon those Families, that make up a Kingdom, by their Magistrates, so as they do it in Ways suitable to Religion?

God has shewn, it *may* and *ought*, by incorporating the Religion of the Jews, with the State, and putting the whole Constitution, under the Inspection of the Civil Magistrate. Till therefore it be proved, that there is Something in the Christian Religion inconsistent with such a Civil Incorporation, the Christian Magistrate may be presumed to be equally qualified, to protect and encourage the Christian Religion, by Christian Methods, as the Jewish Magistrate, was to defend his Religion, by Methods suitable to the Circumstances of that time. And so it was predicted of old, by the Prophet *Esa. xlix. 23.* Where speaking of the future Church of Christ, he adds, *Kings shall be thy nursing Fathers and Queens thy nursing Mothers.* Favour, and Countenance are at least implied in this Promise, which supposes

Dent. xvii.
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also that they act suitably to the state of the Persons, they govern, neither tyrannizing irrationally over their Consciences, nor yet permitting their Charge, to run into every Danger, their Frowardness or Unskilfulness, makes them liable to. And this seems to be the Reason, why the Jewish Kings, when they entred upon the Throne of their Kingdom, were ordered to write themselves a Copy of the Book of the Law, namely, that they might read therein what was truly God's Will, and be instructed to enforce that and nothing else. For this Power will otherwise be very apt to be abused, as may that of Parents and Masters. But the Abuses may be guarded against, and the Power not entirely taken away. Would to God, there never had been an Age when things false, or even doubtful, much less sinful, had been introduced, into the Christian Worship, nor imposed by Kings, as Conditions of Communion, in that Worship! But since Faults of this kind, have sometimes been improved, to the discredit of the Magistrate's just Authority, it concerns us, to assert his Right, to support true Christianity, after separating that, from Doctrines going under that name, which are not so; lest by denying him any Thing to do in Religious Matters, we let in such Confusion, as that of the Age my Text refers to. The People of *Israel* were then the Children of the Men, for whom God had wrought so many Miracles, to bring them into *Canaan*: The Ark of the Covenant, and

and the Book of the Law, remain'd among them, and many standing Evidences of the Truth of their Religion; and yet they went whoring after their own Inventions they forgot God their Saviour, and set up Gods of their own, molten and graven Images, such, as God from Heaven had forbidden, in the Second Commandment; they consecrated whom they would, to be Priests, to them that were no Gods. How came this to pass? why they forbore attending God's Publick Worship, there was no Superior Power, to remind the People of their Duty, nor to keep each Order of Men employed, in their Functions, according to their Station; *There was no King in Israel, therefore every Man did that which was right in his own Eyes.*

Later Experience, bears witness to the History of former Times. After the fall of the Monarchy here in *England*, under which the Christian Religion, had happily flourish'd since the Reformation, it is not out of Memory, the Wound that was then given to Religion it self: nor what an infinite Number of unreasonable Sects arose, as opposite to one another, as to the former Order; as if permitted by God to shew, when no Argument else was attended to, the Happiness of a regular Government, and of the publick Encouragement of Religion in a Nation. So that those, who had been before instrumental through a false Zeal, to pull down

down the Bishops, that were Ministers under the King, (and some of them too rigid in their Office, as Lord *Clarendon* remarks, but that was their personal Fault,) for the restraining of the Liberty contended for, when they saw what followed, for want of some other Check, to succeed under the Magistrate, they lamented what they had done, and wished again, even for that Order, rather than the Distempers and Distractions in Religion, that grew up, by their Removal. The Way being thus prepared, I may proceed

II. To shew the Folly, and Sin of those, that wantonly destroy the Peace of a settled Government. And both these, Folly, and Sin, are chargeable upon two Sorts of Men: The Ambitious, Factionous and Unquiet, who for the Sake of Places and Honours, to be obtained, or kept no other Way, do not stick at Methods, ever so hazardous to the Publick. And again, Men of prime Dignity, and Trust, in Government, who betray the Princes they should serve, by doing odious Acts, in their Names, and by their Authority, who invading the Liberties and Rights of the Subject, for their selfish and arbitrary Purposes, give the Discontented the Handle they wanted, for troubling and confounding the State.

The Folly of both is evident, whether they truly intend to go thorough with the Destruction of the Government they are under

der, or no. If that be not intended, Experience hath often proved, how much they were deceived, that prescribed Limits to contrived Shocks against the State, or thought to disturb the Publick, under Conditions of stopping at a certain Length. They neither know themselves, or other Men, that imagine such a Power in themselves. The Passions grow head-strong, and the Projects are enlarged, with every Turn of Success, and the nearer View of compassing their Ends: And every Change of Circumstances, leads a Man to judge, and reason differently from what he did in another Situation.

Again, the Tares of Discontent, that were of Service, in some particular Case, are not to be weeded out at Pleasure, but grow rank, and spread, to their very great Trouble afterwards, that sowed them. 'Tis next to impossible, to govern every Spirit that one may raise. Should their Consciences, become tender, and stop at the Mischiefs their practising hath brought to Maturity, there are now to go on, where they leave off, and even against their Wills, to play the Game into other Hands, to very different Purposes.

But, suppose they be those that deliberately intend the Ruine of a Government, to erect a *Something*, they know not what, in its Room, that shall be more favourable, to their Interests; can they more truly express their Folly, than in Endeavours to shake

shake off a Form, that hath been found to answer all the Ends of Government, and by long use, to suit the Genius, and Circumstances of a People in all Events, for a Chimera, which it is great odds, is not practicable? Many Things, seem pretty in Speculation, that will not bear a Tryal: And greater Difficulties appear, when a total Change is laboured, than could be foreseen by the most Politick. If the Undertakers do not perish in the Attempt, as is the common, and deserved Fate, of unreasonable Opposition, to wise Settlements; if they be not forsaken by their Followers, who shrink at Danger they don't encounter, with equal Passion and Resolution, to that of their Leaders, nor slain in the War, that must compleat the Destruction of what they dislike; yet how often do they find as much Opposition to their new Scheme, from others, as *They* caused to the old? No State-Projector can be sure, that even under his new Scheme, should it succeed, that he shall be of any Consideration then, or that he shall repair his Fortunes, which must surely be consumed, in nursing it up; since new Parties are wont to shoot from old Stocks, and to put them out of Capacity to do good, or hurt, under whose shelter they rose.

It is, as if one should sink the Ship he is embarked in, and run the Risque of a Shipwreck, upon the uncertain Prospect of build-

building a new Vessel, with the scattered Planks, where possibly he may mend his Sitting-place. They do in all respects, as mad a Thing, who embroil a Society, upon private Views, and raise popular Commotions, from whence an Escape is next to impossible. Political shakings, are like Earthquakes, which is the Figure the Prophets describe them by, wherein the Dregs are thrown upwards, and those at Top sink to the Bottom, and no Man is sure of his standing; nor can the most Penetrating, see through the muddiness of the Medium, to guess when, how or where, the Commotions will settle. Different Humors, Inclinations, Designs, Interests, Passions, when that which kept them all in awe, is taken off, when many think themselves to be upon an equal Bottom to advise and impose, will make work for the most cunning and resolved Head; unexpected Incidents will fall in, to disturb the best-laid Measures, and at last the generality, weary of the many Changes, in every one of which they are sure to be Losers, will hanker after the Government they were formerly accustomed to, not without Indignation against those that abused them to act against their own Peace.

Of those Nobles, and Gentlemen, who began the War, that ended in the Ruine of the Monarchy, how few lived to see the end of it? How much fewer were Gainers by it? Nor did any one of them hold long the

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Power

Power, they had usurp'd. The House of Commons, having laid aside their King first, and then the House of Lords, were themselves, many of them, purged and imprison'd, and the Remainder of them, at last dissolved, against their Wills. The Council of Officers that succeeded them, could neither stand against the Practises of the Agitators, and Levellers, who by the same Methods confounded the Officers, as they had before confounded the Parliament. They therefore devolved their Power, to a Centumvirate, that had not Strength to subsist Six Months, but delivered all up to a Protector, who formed a mock House of Commons, and Lords. After his Death, the Distempers encreased, under a Committee of Safety, and then under a Council of State, untill a free Parliament was chosen that restored the Monarchy again. So true is the Observation, the said excellent Historian hath made, that *it quickly appears how unsecure new Institutions of Government are; and when the Contrivers of them have provided, as they think, against all mischievous Contingencies, they find they have unwarily left a Gap open, to let their Destruction in upon them.*

Clar. Hist.
l. xv. 602.

Nor is their Sin less than their Folly, that practise against Government, or lessen the Reverence and Esteem People ought to have for it, by Male-administration. Trace it up to its true Causes, and you discover Pride, Envy, Covetousness, Ambition, Malice, Revenge, and such
un-

unmortified Lusts, to be the real Principles of such Men's Acting. Publick good, Reformation of Abuses, and Zeal for Religion, are ever pretended and as constantly invaded, in the Course of such Proceedings, till at last the well-meaning, that for the sake of these were drawn in to assist, find themselves cheated out of them all. Where these are indeed at Heart, one will be tender of hazarding the Safety of the Whole, unless that be plainly to be preserved, no other Way. They are wicked Quacks in Politicks, who poison the whole Body, for the stopping of some Tetters and Ring-worms, that darken the Skin.

Follow it in the Steps and Means of putting it in execution, and no Sin is more complicated, than Treason and Rebellion. What Hypocrisy, what Lying, what Breach of Promises, what Perjuries, are committed, to encourage others into a Dependence, and to conceal the true Intention? What Injustice and Cruelty, to depress those that stand in the Way, or to encrease the Numbers of a Party? What Ingratitude to old Friends, when it is thought seasonable, to contract new ones? Unwarrantable Enterprizes require necessarily unwarrantable Ways of carrying them on.

View the Sin in its Effects and they are known to spread into all Kinds of Sin, and all Forms of Misery. The Consequence of the Fall of settled Government, is no Government, and that is a Dissolution of all natural, as well as legal Rights, of all Order

and Discipline and Purity in Religion. The just Result of inveterate Opposition to Government, is a War, a bloody Civil War, which tramples upon all the Offices of Relation and Affection, and effaces the Principles of Morality, and even Humanity, which scatters Calamity upon the Innocent, and entails Desolation upon the Unborn. And shall not these Things, be hateful to God, who glories in the Titles of Lover of Mankind, and the Patron of the Oppressed, who rejoices in the Prosperity of his Servants, and declares himself a severe Avenger against them that shed Man's Blood causelessly? Doubtless, God first formed Societies, as the most comprehensive Way of providing for the Well-being of Mankind; and he has therefore guarded them under Christianity, by so many positive Precepts of Obedience to the Governors thereof, and those he has again enforced, with Entreaties, Promises and Threatnings. *Submit your selves,* saith God by St.

1 Pet. ii. 13. Peter, to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's sake. Whether to the King as supreme, or Governors sent by him. If there be any Concern for the Honour and Love of Christ, who is the Saviour of all Men, shew it, in giving Honour to Governors, who are sent by him, for the Punishment of evil-doers, and the Praise of them that do well.

St. Paul exhorts Timothy to pray for Kings, and all that are in Authority, (and what we pray for, we are to endeavour after,)

after,) as the Way to lead *quiet and peaceable Lives in all Godliness and Honesty,* and as it is a *Thing good and acceptable* ^{1 Ti. ii. 2,} *in the Sight of God our Saviour.* He commands to *turn away from the traiterous and heady, and high-minded,* that shall arise in *perillous Times.* And for them that do ^{2 Ti. ii. 4,} otherwise, he declares, by *resisting the Power,* they *resist the Ordinance of God,* and they *that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.* ^{Rom. xiii. 2.}

These Texts, out of several others, are enough to shew, that many Precepts must be transgressed, many Promises forfeited, many Threats incurred, by the Factious and Rebellious; they will be answerable for all the Sins, and all the Evils, that are unavoidable, in the Prosecution of this wicked Affair, and that is a Load big enough, to frighten him, that has the least Feeling of Conscience, from causing, or meddling in National Disturbances.

To bring home in few Words, the Substance of what hath been said, to our particular Circumstances. No Nation under Heaven, enjoyed greater Prosperity and Happiness, then ours did, till they deprived themselves thereof by running into a Civil War, that destroy'd the KING and the Constitution. We began again to flourish, through God's good Providence, as the Government settled again, upon its ancient Basis; and we seemed, a while sensible of the Blessing: but after

ter a long Peace, the Remembrance of the Evils they had suffered, wore off both in King, and People. At length, when a King of another Religion was possess'd of the Throne, and he ruled by Popish and Foreign Councils, an unnatural Conspiracy of the Head against the Members, appeared as evident as the Sun-shine: Our Constitution and Holy Religion, were to be offered a Sacrifice to Popery; our Liberties and our Consciences, were to be enslaved, to those at *Rome*, that regard neither.

These Fears awakened us, and brought us to be of one Mind, and so made way for that *Wonderful Revolution*, that saved us: then from imminent Ruine, and was worth all the Expence, and Hazard we run in a tedious War afterwards to defend it, as it procured for us, the Settlement under his present Majesty, who is the only Prince we know, beside his next Title in the Protestant Blood, every ways qualified, to preserve to us the Fruits of that Deliverance.

Under him, we may reasonably promise our selves as happy Days, as have been seen, in any Reign, before Him, if we our selves do not hinder. There is no saving People against their Wills. Let us that are Subjects, be content to be made Happy, and we may expect every Thing else, that is in the Power of a good Governor, from the KING's good Disposition, and good Intentions for the Publick Welfare.

God

God hath given us the Establishment we were anxiously contriving, and praying, and resolved to dye for, after the Demise of the late pious Queen. It is our Part, not to defeat the Benefit of it, now we have it: Nor by unseasonable Divisions shew we know not what will satisfy us. The cursed Tragedy of This Day, calleth upon us, to watch over the Passions, and Beginnings, that led into so monstrous a Wickedness. It warns us, not to credit every Appearance; not to magnify little Mistakes, incident to the Best Humane Governments, into malicious Designs; not to carry any imagined Grievance, into an Appeal to the common People; and especially, not to engage too far in Party Disputes, so as in despair of Pardon and Reconciliation, not to be able to retire, nor proceed with Safety.

It will be to no Purpose, that we bewail the great Sin of this Day, if we be ready to repeat it any other Day, against our present Governor. That Loyalty is a mere Cloak of Maliciousness, which is so exhausted upon the Person of the Martyred King, as to have no Zeal left for the Service of our Living King. But if our behaviour to Him, be like that of Men, that do indeed abhor their Practises, then it will appear, we are grown Wiser and Better, by former Miscarriages, and God himself will be pleased, that so great Deliverances, and so signal Mercies, have not been quite thrown away upon us. He will continue to grant us his Salvation, as he sees.

tees we do not prepare to turn again to Folly.

May God, the Giver of all Grace, dispose our Hearts, to mind the Things that belong to our Peace, before they be hid from our Eyes, for the Sake of Christ Jesus, to whom, with the Father, and Holy Ghost, be all Honour, and Praise for evermore. *Amen.*

F I N I S.



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